

# SWITZERLAND'S PERIL OF GREATEST PERIL IS AT HAND

By F. CUNLIFFE-OWEN.

Signs are fast accumulating to indicate that Switzerland is at length about to be drawn into the war.

It is now generally accepted, alike by Germany and her allies and by the Powers of the Entente, that the terrible conflict which has been raging for near three years will be determined not in the East, but in the western field of operations, and that the culminating trial of strength will come this spring or at the latest in the early summer.

It is safe to assume that the German General Staff, which has given abundant proofs of its remarkable capacity both in organization and in strategy, will play some audacious and desperate game in order to avert the economic ruin and disaster which must inevitably result to the Teuton cause through the prolongation of the war. The conflict has from a Teuton point of view to be decided this year.

Berlin knows that the very existence of the empire, as such, is at stake. It has shown by its attitude toward the United States and toward the Netherlands that it does not propose to be hampered any longer by a fear of alienating hitherto friendly nations to such an extent as to render future commercial intercourse with them impossible, or by any remaining scruples on the subject of neutrality. The situation of the Kaiser's seat of his allies is too critical for that.

They are convinced that it is only by ruthless and indiscriminate submarine warfare of all craft, no matter whether hostile or neutral, at sea, and by some crushing successful blows on the western front, that they can avert the otherwise inevitable disaster. In the summer of 1914, when they thought that they could reach and overwhelm Paris by a swift blow before their foes had time to mobilize their troops, they did not hesitate to violate the neutrality of Belgium in order to turn the French line of defenses. To-day, when the situation is not only much more serious for them, but even desperate, with practically the entire world arrayed in arms against them, it is not likely that they will hesitate to violate the neutrality of the Netherlands and, above all of Switzerland, in order to save themselves from destruction.

Switzerland has all along been threatened with a violation of her neutrality. It was only the fact that on the outbreak of the war in the summer of 1914 she once called upon her well trained and splendidly equipped militia army to the colors for the defence of her territory that she was able at the time to safeguard her neutrality.

A considerable portion of her military forces have been kept under arms ever since, and the Austrian Field Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg, which has likewise suffered very seriously in a financial sense through having so many of her men taken from their normal occupations in commercial and industrial life to do military duty. Had it not been, however, that these measures there is no doubt, but that Switzerland would have suffered the same fate as Belgium in the earlier stages of the present war. But

the evil was merely postponed and not averted. It is now about to materialize. Among the most striking indications of the fact that Switzerland's hour of crisis is at hand is the sudden withdrawal by French financiers and banking interests of all their hitherto large deposits in Swiss banks, the Paris Rothschild alone figuring in this respect to the tune of some \$80,000,000. Then there is the summons issued a few weeks ago to all Swiss citizens of military age in the United States to return home and join their various regiments, at no matter what sacrifice to their interests on this side of the Atlantic.

The commercial and industrial relations of Switzerland with the United States are of vital importance to the Helvetian Republic, and the maintenance and promotion of these interests the Swiss in America are among the principal factors. The Bernese Government would, therefore, not have called home her citizens in the New World at the risk of injury to the economic interests of the nation had it not believed that the country was in danger.

But above all there is the menacing concentration of German troops in the southwestern corner of the German Empire, especially in that part of southern Alsace which lies immediately to the west of Basel. Owing to climatic conditions along the Russian border, in Rumania and in the Balkans, where the appalling cold and deep snow will be followed in due course by those thaws which are equally paralyzing from a military point of view, active operations are almost at a standstill there.

This has enabled the Kaiser to withdraw large bodies of troops from there. In fact, ever since the beginning of the year there has been a steady flow of German regiments from the Russian, Rumanian and Balkan fronts to the Dutch border, and more especially to the district which I have indicated above as lying immediately to the west of Basel. Aside from these already seasoned troops the Kaiser is said to have no less than half a hundred entirely new divisions of the class of 1917, who are now available for service with the colors on the western front.

Few people here realize that a strip of Swiss territory between ten and fifteen miles wide and traversed by a splendid road separates the German border in southwestern Alsace from the French frontier line, in the Department of the Doubs. There is a sort of spit of Swiss territory butting up into German Alsace and France and forming an enclave between them. The roads across it are perfectly flat, without any obstacle of natural kind, and the temptation to the Germans of making a dash across it in the space of two or three hours, thus turning the French line of defence on the Alsatian border, is so great as to be well nigh irresistible.

A little over a hundred years ago, in 1814, the Austrian Field Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg, with the consent of the Swiss, availed himself of this route to outflank the French line of defenses in Alsace and to get behind them. There is no reason why Germany should not endeavor to repeat the experiment.

Prior to the beginning of the present war, when treaties and guarantees of neutrality were still supposed to

## All French Capital Has Been Withdrawn From Her Banks and All Her Fighters Summoned Home to Join the Colors--Helvetia's Generalissimo Bears the Name of Bismarck and Is, Like Most of His Officers and Troops, Intensely Pro-German

hold good instead of being considered as mere valueless scraps of paper, France was so confident of freedom from the danger of the possibility of any German attack across Swiss territory that she never took any trouble to defend that portion of her frontier, where her river Doubs enters Switzerland at Ocourt or at any of the neighboring points. She devoted all her energies to the construction of forts and fortifications further north, along her Alsatian border line and in the rear thereof, but neglected to organize any works of the same kind and importance in that particular vulnerable corner of her Department of the Doubs.

She was encouraged in this policy by Germany's failure to fortify her territory on her side of this particular Swiss enclave, in the southwest corner of Alsace. It may be recalled in this connection that in the northern portion of her territory France constructed a magnificent system of forts and fortresses along her German frontier, but left her Belgian frontier almost entirely undefended, relying upon the international treaties guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium. This is why the Germans by marching through Belgium were able to turn the French northwestern line of defenses and to penetrate so deeply into France until finally their progress was arrested and they were turned back at Compiègne, that is to say almost under the very walls of Paris.

One would have thought that the French would have taken warning from this. But it seems that until a few months ago they persisted in still relying upon the strength and upon the will of Switzerland to safeguard and protect the neutrality of her territory. Indeed, it is only since the reorganization of the War Department in Paris last summer that somewhat late in the day steps have been taken to defend, after a fashion, the danger point on the Doubs frontier of Switzerland by means of a system of trenches, which, however, could be destroyed by the Germans with their heavy ordnance by simply firing from their present positions across the intervening Swiss territory.

Of course much will depend upon the attitude of the Swiss Government, and in particular upon that of the Swiss army. There is no doubt whatsoever that the French speaking cantons of the republic are pro-French and sympathize with the Powers of the Entente. But it is just this that renders the news that reaches us from Switzerland so unreliable.

It is called almost entirely from the *Journal de Genève* and the *Gazette de Lausanne*, published in the cities whose names they bear. Printed in the French language, they have a larger circulation abroad than any other organs of the Helvetic press, and are so intensely pro-Ally as to blind them to the conditions that prevail in the German speaking cantons of the republic.

These latter comprise the bulk of the population, that is to say between three and a half and four million out

of a total of five million, and despite all reports to the contrary lean toward Germany rather than toward the Powers of the Entente. The new President of the Swiss Republic belongs to a German Swiss family and received his entire education in the German universities, still retaining his membership in the great German students' organizations. The chief of the



General Wille-Bismarck, Commander in Chief of the Swiss Army.

General Staff of the Swiss army is also a native of one of the German speaking cantons of Switzerland and is aggressively pro-Teuton in his views and prejudices, while the same may be said in an even still greater degree of the Swiss Generalissimo Wille, whose wife is a German Countess Bismarck and who in accordance with Swiss custom bears her

patronymic, namely that of Bismarck, in conjunction with his own. Under the circumstances it has aroused some comment that the threatened point, I mean that bit of Swiss territory lying between the southwest corner of German Alsace and the French Department of the Doubs, as well as all the adjacent Swiss territory, should be held by Hel-

vetian troops recruited from the German rather than from the French speaking cantons. Moreover, it has not escaped attention that while Turkey is defeating German ears with fruitless complaints that she has not enough guns to meet the Russian advance, Denmark and Bulgaria are clamoring in vain for guns to replace her worn out pieces

without receiving any satisfaction from Germany the latter has within the last few months been supplying the Swiss army with a considerable number of fully equipped batteries of field guns. The question that naturally occurs is what object has Germany in view in furnishing large quantities of the most up to date ordnance to a neutral country, such as Switzerland, while declaring to her allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, that she has no guns available for their urgent and pressing needs.

In order to understand the conditions that now prevail in Switzerland it is necessary to explain that the Generalissimo and the members of the General Staff of the army, who are now chosen by him without legislative control, are at present supreme in the republic, having been invested by the Federal Legislature with extraordinary power for purposes of national defence. In fact the entire country is subjected to the despotic sway of this military oligarchy. And Generalissimo Wille-Bismarck is a very masterful and autocratic man.

He is a son of that Dr. Francis Wille who was the friend and host of Richard Wagner. Indeed, it was while staying at the Wille villa at Marienberg, on Lake Zurich, now occupied by the General and his wife, that Wagner completed his "Nibelungen Ring," and played it for the first time to a party of the relatives and friends of the Willes. It was there too that Wagner first produced his "Tristan and Isolde," and the General's mother, daughter and heir, the great Hamburg shipowner Siegmund, was the composer's good angel, most sympathetic adviser, and confidant of all his troubles. In fact the Wille figure is repeated, and always in the kindest and most appreciative fashion, in Wagner's Autobiography and Letters, as well as in the various memoirs that others have published concerning him.

The General's wife, Countess Clara von Bismarck, is a cousin of the first Chancellor of the German Empire, a sister of Count Augustus Bismarck, Grand Chamberlain to the Emperor of Baden, and celebrated throughout Germany in connection with his organization of trotting races, while her father was the late Count Frederick Bismarck, famous as one of the ablest cavalry leaders of his day, and so generally acknowledged as such that he was invited to turn to reorganize the cavalry of Russia, Denmark and Prussia before completing his career as envoy of the Kingdom of Württemberg at Berlin.

His first wife was a royal princess, with whom he eloped, taking her from her former husband, Prince Louis, Landgrave and ruler of Hesse-Homburg. She was a daughter of the Sovereign Duke of Nassau, and after she had been divorced by the Prince married Count Frederick Bismarck. On her death he contracted a second marriage, with a Savoyard lady of the name of Mlle. Thibault, who had been the mistress of his waiting and who still survives. She is the mother of Mme. Wille-Bismarck.

His first wife was a royal princess, with whom he eloped, taking her from her former husband, Prince Louis, Landgrave and ruler of Hesse-Homburg. She was a daughter of the Sovereign Duke of Nassau, and after she had been divorced by the Prince married Count Frederick Bismarck. On her death he contracted a second marriage, with a Savoyard lady of the name of Mlle. Thibault, who had been the mistress of his waiting and who still survives. She is the mother of Mme. Wille-Bismarck.

His first wife was a royal princess, with whom he eloped, taking her from her former husband, Prince Louis, Landgrave and ruler of Hesse-Homburg. She was a daughter of the Sovereign Duke of Nassau, and after she had been divorced by the Prince married Count Frederick Bismarck. On her death he contracted a second marriage, with a Savoyard lady of the name of Mlle. Thibault, who had been the mistress of his waiting and who still survives. She is the mother of Mme. Wille-Bismarck.

It is only natural under the circumstances that with a German wife, a German mother, a German education and German military training and himself native of a German speaking canton Gen. Wille-Bismarck should be essentially German in his views, in his prejudices and in his sympathies. Besides, he was made so much of by Kaiser Wilhelm, that he is widely known in Switzerland for the purpose of witnessing the manoeuvres of her army a year before the war that he was completely fascinated and subjugated by the Emperor, conceiving the most extravagant admiration for him.

The General claims to be impartial. But this is beyond him, and until quite recently the principal Military Attache of the German Legation at Bern was his cousin, Major Count Bismarck, who enjoyed the free run of his villa at Zurich and of his headquarters, having as such access to all the secrets of the Swiss General Staff, especially to those reports sent by the Swiss officers attached to the headquarters of the French Generalissimo commanding the operations against Germany around Verdun and further north.

It was not so long ago that the two Colonels of the Swiss General Staff, Col. von Wettstein and Col. Egli, were shown to have been in the habit of communicating to the military attaches of the German and Austrian legations at Bern the daily reports which they received from Swiss staff and regimental officers concerning the movements of the French and Italian troops along the French and Italian frontiers of Switzerland. Not content with this, Col. Egli, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, was actually proved to have been the daily service of the German General and his wife, that without completed his "Nibelungen Ring," and played it for the first time to a party of the relatives and friends of the Willes. It was there too that Wagner first produced his "Tristan and Isolde," and the General's mother, daughter and heir, the great Hamburg shipowner Siegmund, was the composer's good angel, most sympathetic adviser, and confidant of all his troubles. In fact the Wille figure is repeated, and always in the kindest and most appreciative fashion, in Wagner's Autobiography and Letters, as well as in the various memoirs that others have published concerning him.

The General's wife, Countess Clara von Bismarck, is a cousin of the first Chancellor of the German Empire, a sister of Count Augustus Bismarck, Grand Chamberlain to the Emperor of Baden, and celebrated throughout Germany in connection with his organization of trotting races, while her father was the late Count Frederick Bismarck, famous as one of the ablest cavalry leaders of his day, and so generally acknowledged as such that he was invited to turn to reorganize the cavalry of Russia, Denmark and Prussia before completing his career as envoy of the Kingdom of Württemberg at Berlin.

His first wife was a royal princess, with whom he eloped, taking her from her former husband, Prince Louis, Landgrave and ruler of Hesse-Homburg. She was a daughter of the Sovereign Duke of Nassau, and after she had been divorced by the Prince married Count Frederick Bismarck. On her death he contracted a second marriage, with a Savoyard lady of the name of Mlle. Thibault, who had been the mistress of his waiting and who still survives. She is the mother of Mme. Wille-Bismarck.

Even those of them who are the most pro-German in their sympathies would gladly keep out of it. But the circumstances are too strong for them. They are no longer free agents and financially, commercially, industrially and politically they are completely under the thumb of Germany. They are wholly dependent upon her for the coal with which all their manufacturing industries are unable to operate or their railroads to move. They are also dependent upon Germany for their iron and steel, as well as for the other metals which they employ in the production of all their machinery, from heavy implements down to watchworks.

Most of their industries are financed with German capital, are also some of their railroads. In fact one finds the hand of Germany everywhere in Switzerland. Nor is it a hidden hand, for the Swiss are bold and aggressive, sure of its power.

Switzerland may even be said to be dependent upon Germany for most of her foodstuffs, as well as for her foreign trade. Until last month she was able to draw heavily upon the Western Hemisphere for supplies via the various ports of the Netherlands, and likewise by the small French Mediterranean port of Cete, which by an agreement she had concluded with France and with Germany had been neutralized for the use of Helvetic imports and exports. But the new submarine policy of Emperor William has had the effect of closing all Dutch ports to overseas trade, that nothing can any longer be obtained through the Netherlands, while the proclamation of the Kaiser that all shipping would be torpedoed, no matter whether hostile or neutral, has prevented any shipments whatsoever, even were not the accommodations of that port and its communications by rail with Switzerland so very limited.

The result is that Switzerland is beginning, like Holland, to suffer the pangs of hunger; and that it has been obliged to inaugurate within the last few weeks the law of rationing for meat and for bread cards. She has been entirely and completely dependent upon Germany, and, unable any longer to help herself in an economic sense, is compelled to do the Kaiser's bidding. One word in conclusion to show the extent of Switzerland's subservience to Germany. A couple of years before the beginning of the war the republic, in the face of no end of popular opposition, enacted a Federal Insurance law, covering also accidents and sickness. Not long ago it became known that the Swiss Government, acting under pressure from Germany, had caused the Federal Insurance law to be repealed. Bern to convert the entire Federal Insurance Fund, with the exception of a trifle of 600,000 francs, into German war bonds—bonds which will be without any value whatsoever for generations to come, unless Germany can not only secure a decisive victory but also obtain immense war indemnities from the Powers of the Entente.

The possibility of the Swiss Government paying the Federal policies, for which the citizens have paid their premiums directly and also indirectly in the form of taxes, ad hoc, is wholly dependent upon a victory of Germany in the present war. If Germany is beaten the Swiss will get nothing from their insurance policies, and are therefore forced, on financial grounds, to yearn for a defeat of the Allies, and even to contribute to their destruction.

# FIGHT FOR CLOTURE WON SEVENTY-SIX YEARS AFTER HENRY CLAY BEGAN IT

President Wilson Changed His Opinion on the Subject--Senator Stone Once an Opponent of the Filibuster--United States Senate Last Great Legislative Body to Permit Unlimited Debate--Some Famous Filibusters

which were afterward perpetuated in the so-called Reed rules, Speaker Reed said:

"There is no possible way by which the orderly method of parliamentary procedure can be used to stop legislation. The object of a parliamentary body is action and not stoppage of action. Hence, if any member or not of members undertakes to oppose the orderly progress of business, even by usage of the ordinarily recognized parliamentary motions, it is the right of the majority to refuse to have these motions entertained."

The last successful filibuster, and one of the most bitterly contested in the history of the Senate, centered around President Wilson's ship purchase bill in the summer of 1914. This brought out the first attempt in the present political generation to impose cloture on the Senate, an amendment to the rules offered by Senator Owen of Oklahoma consuming debate for six days before it was abandoned. The ship purchase bill was debated twenty-three days, and so great was the pressure of the proponents of the

bill against the filibusters that in their effort to wear them out physically only three adjournments were taken in fifteen days.

**Famous Filibusters**

WOODROW WILSON, then a college instructor with a bent toward political research, wrote in 1885 a book on "Congressional Government," in which, among other things, he discussed the necessity for curbing speech in the House of Representatives. As he analyzed it, practically all of the talk in the lower national legislative body was intended for the consumption of constituents. He said:

"The purpose, however, there is less temptation to such speechmaking in the Senate than in the House. The House knows the terrible possibilities in store for it were it to give perfect freedom of debate to its 325 members in these days when frequent mails and tireless tongues of telegraphy bring every constituent within easy earshot

of Washington, and it therefore seeks to confine what little discussion it indulges in to a few committees, especially in charge of the business of each moment.

"But the Senate is small and of settled habits and has no such bugbear to trouble it. It can afford to do without any cloture or previous question."

On March 4 last, the day he took the oath for the second time as President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson gave out a statement which contained this:

"The termination of the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress by constitutional limitation disclosed a situation unparalleled in the history of the country, perhaps unparalleled in the history of any modern government. In the immediate presence of a crisis fraught with more subtle and far reaching possibilities of national danger than any other the Government has known within the whole history of its international relations the Congress has been unable to act either to safeguard the country or to vindicate the elementary rights of its citizens. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses were ready and anxious to act; the House of Representatives had acted, by an overwhelming majority, by an act which was able to act because a little group of eleven Senators had determined that it should not.

"The Senate has no rules by which debate can be limited or brought to an end, no rules by which dilatory tactics of any kind can be prevented. A single member can stand in the way of action if he have but the physical endurance. The result in this case is a complete paralysis alike of the legislative and of the executive branches of the Government."

His theories of government thus were altered by practical needs. The cloture for which he saw no necessity thirty years before was the only expedient possible to make effective the will of the people, their President and their Congress. It was an inevitable yielding to a condition compelled by the legislative trickery known as filibustering.

The filibuster of presenting condemned bills to the House of Representatives has been a device of the House of Representatives for many years. A member of the minority may speak against it for one hour, none may talk in its support. A vote is then taken on whether the debate shall be closed, and if this is carried the main question is put.

Essentially the same rule now prevails in the House of Representatives. The object of this of course is to put the power to force an issue into the hands of the majority. Under the rule as it obtains now the control on any question rests with the party that holds the greater number of votes in the House. It precludes the possibility of filibustering.

should be so altered that it could act. This meant applying the rule of cloture, which reduced to simple terms the merely imposing a limitation of debate, ending all prospect of filibustering.

The amendment to the Senate rules adopted last Thursday gives two-thirds of the Senate the power to halt all discussion within a stated period.

More than a century ago most European countries found unlimited debate impracticable. They discovered in it a hindrance to the progress of necessary legislation. England, the last to abolish it, was impelled to act by Gladstone on February 20, 1862. He was in a position to do so because of Lloyd George to-day. The Irish members of the House of Commons became fractious; they refused to abide by the traditions of that body. Mr. Gladstone framed his proposed cloture in these words:

"When it appears to the Speaker or chairman of committees during any debate to be the evident sense of the House or of the committee that the question be now put he may so inform the House, and that thereupon, a motion being made 'that the question be now put,' the question under discussion shall be forthwith put from the chair and decided in affirmative if supported by more than 200 members or, when less than forty members have voted against it, by more than 100 members."

It is evident by comparison of this rule with the resolution of Senator Owen that the purpose of the two measures is the same. The situation resolves itself into the old parliamentary practice of moving the previous question. In England the practice is referred to as the closure; the word now on every one's lips, cloture, is that used in France.

In the French Chamber of Deputies any member may rise in his place during debate to cry "La cloture!" It is not debatable. A member of the minority may speak against it for one hour, none may talk in its support. A vote is then taken on whether the debate shall be closed, and if this is carried the main question is put.

Essentially the same rule now prevails in the House of Representatives. The object of this of course is to put the power to force an issue into the hands of the majority. Under the rule as it obtains now the control on any question rests with the party that holds the greater number of votes in the House. It precludes the possibility of filibustering.

The filibuster is the weapon of the weaker side. Usually it is a concerted movement of the minority to delay action. In the old days filibusters in the House were conducted by means of dilatory motions, by amendments and by points of order that entailed ceaseless roll calls. Through this method the minority was able to block legislation.

When Thomas B. Reed was Speaker of the House he did much to curtail obstruction. A rule was made which gave any member power to ask for the previous question. When he believed the discussion had gone far enough he would recognize some one of his Republican brethren, who would move the previous question. This, in effect, was a cloture, but it was an emphasized form of it.

"Uncle Joe" Cannon, as Speaker followed the same carlike tactics, but he carried the system to such an extreme that men of his own party revolted. In his reign as Speaker the insurgents strove to open up more liberal discussion. When they were choked off they commenced a warfare that deplored Cannon and led to the adoption of the present rule by the House.

The Senate was left as the only important legislative body in the world with unlimited debate. England, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain and the Netherlands have limited debate. All but a few of the States of the Union have limitation of discussion.

Because of the absence of a cloture rule the Senate has made a thoroughly American institution of the filibuster. The filibuster is nothing more or less than an effort to talk a measure to death; it is the last resort of a hopelessly minority. Its most effective use has been toward the close of a session when the majority is being put to crowd the hours with debate, talking against the clock. As a vote was impossible until debate is ended invariably this strategy has succeeded.

The shift of political power has put the necessity for filibustering on both parties. And with these reverses in position there has come a change of attitude on a part of prominent Senators toward the efficacy of the filibuster. It is not uncommon for the filibuster of one Congress to become the cloture advocate of the next.

There is the case of Senator William J. Stone of Missouri—"Gumshoe Bill" who is included in President Wilson's "little group of wily men." Several years ago when Senator Carmack of Tennessee was filibustering on the ship subsidy bill he yielded the floor to his supporting colleague, Senator Stone. It was near the close of a session and the time had to be filled in. When Carmack surrendered his floor to Senator Stone, he began to read. What was it? It was Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." Through this procedure the measure was killed.

History takes queer and unexpected twists. In February, 1915, a prophetic vision came to "Gumshoe Bill." This time he was with the majority striving in behalf of the shipping bill to silence the filibusters. Here is what he said at that time. Read it while keeping in

the mind's eye Stone's alignment with the Senators who were against the measure to arm ships:

"Until now I have looked with disfavor upon any form of cloture in the Senate. I know that the parliamentary practice observed in other countries and in the States of this Union provide for cloture; but I have wished the Senate might continue to constitute one legislative forum in the world where the right of debate could not be arbitrarily cut off."

"What I have seen here in the last month or more has shaken my attitude on this subject. Debate is one thing; a defiant filibuster without pretence of legitimate discussion intended to enlighten the Senate or the country is quite another thing. I believe now as before in allowing a wide range for legitimate discussion on any question before the Senate; but when Senators band together merely to stop the wheels of legislation by processes only intended to prevent action by the Senate, then those engaged upon that enterprise are grossly abusing the privilege of debate."

"If obstructive methods like those we have witnessed here through all the weary weeks of the recent past are to go unchecked or are to remain permissible or possible, then any well regulated minority—even a small minority—may stop the wheels not only of legislation but of the entire Government and leave the Government in a position of helplessness and despair."

"It will not do to say that in instances of especially grave concern, where the honor or life of the nation was at stake, no contingent of Senators could be found who would resort to such methods as to now being put to use. Who can tell what might suddenly arise with respect to the disorders prevailing in Mexico or with respect to the war in Europe which might in the opinion of the Government and of a large majority of the Congress necessitate some urgent or important action, offensive or defensive?"

"If unhappily it should become necessary in the opinion of the President and the majority of the two houses to take or authorize some drastic action by our Government—advent I would deeply deplore and devoutly hope may not occur—but it should become necessary to take some decisive action for the protection of American rights, I do not regard it as improbable that some public men—I will not particularize more definitely—who are either strongly pro-German or strongly pro-English might stand in the way of the Government."

"It is easy for gentlemen with strong sympathies or prejudices to find a reason upon which to base a justification for their conduct. At all events, as matters now stand, we are subject to that danger. Ought the Senate to

have its hands so tied as to make it helpless in the face of any national emergency?"

Senator Owen, who is the father of the new cloture rule, was a vigorous filibuster in 1911, at the end of the session, against the bill intended to give St. Thomas, in the Virgin Islands, and New Mexico. Yet, four years later, he is for every man's right to be heard.

"No one man," he said, "no matter how sincere he may be, or how patriotic his purpose, should be permitted to take the floor against the will of every man in the Senate except himself and coerce and intimidate the Senate. To do so is to destroy the most important principle of self-government—the right of majority rule."

In 1893 a filibuster was commenced against the repeal of the silver purchase act of 1890. This was defeated. In 1901 Thomas Henry Carter of Montana on March 3 talked a major and harbor bill to death. For eighteen consecutive hours before the end of the Congress he held the floor.

Lung capacity has always been regarded as an essential in these debates. Senator Owen, who has been believed to have talked for eighteen hours continuously without stop for thirty hours.

In the last law-making body that had unlimited debate filibusters of a serious nature are at an end. Therefore the black orator will retain his laurels.

## REBUILD RETAKEN FRANCE

BEHIND the army in France which is fighting night and day to push back the Germans is another army whose work brings it nearly to the firing line, but on a pacific mission, according to G. S. Thompson, Paris representative of the American Steel Export Company. This second army is the army which is reconstructing France as rapidly as the invader is pushed back.

In the activity of the second army there lies a great opportunity for American manufacturers, not only to win temporary contracts for their products but also to lay the foundations for permanent commercial relations with the greatest industrial powers of France, according to Mr. Thompson. The steel man recently returned to this country after a thorough study of the industrial situation for a conference with the officials of his company concerning present and future business in France.

The industrial plants of France have been converted into a vast system of efficient munition manufacturing to supply the needs of the first army of France, so the second army, the army of reconstruction, must depend on foreign manufacturers for its supplies. But industrial efficiency and economy are the keywords now in France, and in order to secure the advantages of collective purchasing great syndicates have been formed to buy in unprecedented quantities the tools and materials for the rebuilding of the nation.

Complete plants, probably including every item needed for the reconstruction of a whole town or city—bridges, railways, factories, street car and lighting plants, water pumping and piping systems, and so forth. Aside from the equipment actually destroyed vast quantities have been removed by the Germans for use in their own manufacturing plants. In this way many large installations have been absolutely stripped of all machinery.

No ammunition must be made. Today has a pound of reserve material, according to Mr. Thompson. As such as a consignment of raw or semi-finished products is received from abroad it is fed to the machines. The plants are often idle temporarily for lack of steel.

Although plans are being prepared for the immediate conversion of the munition plants into commercial factories on the declaration of peace, there is no doubt in the minds of experts who have studied the industrial situation that for many years France will need large quantities of semi-finished as well as raw products to replace industrial production. For several years after the war she will badly need huge amounts of steel and other metal products.

To the French banking interests is confined not only the purchase of the material for the rebuilding of France but also to a great extent the purchase of the loans needed in Russia. This is due to the great amount of Russian securities held in France and to the close commercial relations existing for many years between the two countries. As an example of the size of the Russian business opportunities Mr. Thompson cited an order given by the Russian Government for \$8,000,000 metric tons of rails and fittings.

## WHERE SHOES ARE CHEAP

CITY committees have been forced to track old High Cost of Living to its lair and there reduce that bloated individual to respectable proportions. State committees have been organized for the same purpose and a Federal cost of living commission is talked of. Yet living expenses are constantly rising. Particularly is this true of two of the most important necessities of civilized life, clothing and shoes.

Ever since Europe became embroiled in the present war the price of leather has been constantly rising. Shoes that could be bought for \$5 or less a few years ago now cost \$10 and more, and the dealers hold out no hope of lower prices. The situation is so serious that a determined effort is being made to popularize the use of cloth top shoes and composition substitutes for leather soles to relieve the strain on the country's leather production.

But while prices have gone up all around there is still one place in New York that seemingly has not been affected by the boosting of shoe values. Shoes can be bought as cheap in the second hand shoe and clothing curb market of Bayard street as they ever were. Clothing, too, second hand, misfit and some new goods known as "sunny day" clothes, can also be purchased there.

The dealers will handle anything from a single hairpin to an entire outfit of clothing and they will supply merchandise in any quantity you desire, provided of course there is a margin of profit in the transaction, be it ever so small.

The street's merchants do both a re-

tail and a wholesale business. A single pair of shoes, quality rather dubious, can be bought for \$5 and 50 cents and upward. Overcoats and suits are a little more expensive, but can be purchased for \$150 or thereabout. Prices for miffs are about the same, while many of the "sunny day" variety may be had for \$8 or \$10 a suit. But one thing must be borne in mind when dealing in Bayard street, no guarantee goes with a purchase everything is sold "as is" and the street's motto is "caveat emptor."

The wholesale end of Bayard street supplies many of the cheap clothing and shoe stores of the West and the South with their merchandise. Second hand and misfit clothing and shoes are sold in lots of a thousand and more to out of town stores. Any second hand article desired the street's merchants will supply, if they have it in stock they'll go out and get it for their customer.

The operations on the Bayard street curb can be observed daily. The dealers congregate on the short block alongside the old car barn, now a moving picture theatre, that extends from the Bowery to the street. There they sell to one another and to outsiders. Much of the trading, principally between old cash clothes men and the second hand dealers, is done in a saloon that occupies one of the corners at Bayard and Elizabeth streets. There the dealers can be seen sitting in the show window haggling over their trades and occasionally drinking a glass of beer, payment for which secures the privilege to remain in the saloon.

Bayard street is one of the few streets of downtown New York whose life has not materially changed. The second hand clothing exchange existed there a quarter of a century ago and it is still busy and active.